

The Cholas-Andhras Relations and Encounters (11th – 12th centuries CE)

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Introduction: The conquest of the Imperial Cholas¹ up to Ganges has been doubted by some historians², in the same way as they questioned the naval expeditions carried out to conquest the South East Asian countries³. However, had they not gone up to the Ganges, they would not have crossed Andhra and Kalinga without encountering with the ruling kings of the coastal areas to reach Bengal. The battles, the Cholas fought with the ruling Andhra and Kalinga dynasties during 10th-11th centuries prove their ambition of marching towards Bengal⁴. In fact, as per the Cholas inscriptions, they carried out the naval conquests in 1025, only after conquering the coastal areas up to the Ganges in 1021 CE. D. C. Sircar has pointed out about the constant struggle among the Palas, Gahadavalas, Prathiharas, Ayudhas and the intrusion of Tibetan invaders and Gaudas of Kamboja from north-east into Bengal⁵. This would have attracted the Chinese, Arabs and Cholas, who wanted to expand their territories for commercial and political purposes⁶. The inscription based narrations about the fighting among the Cholas, Hoysalas, Chalukyas, Andhras, Kalingas, Gahadavalas and other feudatories, though, show a conflicting state of the region, the otherwise, flourishing lives of the people without any differences exhibited through their art and architecture, music and dance, texts and literature, science and technology behind their socio-religious processes prove

¹ The period of Imperial Cholas is taken as 950-1250 CE as, historians, scholars and Pundits consider that the original Chola dynasty ended with Adhirajendra (1070-1073) and the Chola-Chalukya dynasty started with Kulottunga – I (1070-1120).

² Venkayya, *Archaeological Survey of India – Annual Reports of the director general*, 1911-12, pp.173-174.

³ George W. Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion – The Chola Conquest of Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya*, New Era Publications, Madras, 1983.

⁴ K. V. Ramakishna Rao, *Kalinga-Dravida encounters*, a paper presented during National Seminar held at Bhubabeshwar from January 23rd to 25th, 2009 on “Living Traditions of Orissa Tribes” (Second state conference of Bharatiya Itihasa Sankalana Samiti).

⁵ D. C. Sircar, *The Kanyakubja-Gauda Struggle – From the Sixth to the twelfth century A. D.*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1985, p.56

⁶ Incidentally, the political and commercial struggle among the three groups – the Chinese, the Arabs and the Cholas in the South East Asian region had been more competitive, aggressive and hostile, as could be seen from the struggles among themselves and their alliances.

a harmonized and settled life⁷. The Indians produced more temples, sculpture, literature and artifacts during this period. Though historians have dealt with the political relations among the dynasties of South India in general, M. Raghava Iyengar has shown the relation and connection between the Tamils and Andhras since Sangam period⁸ specifically. M. Rama Rao⁹ has touched upon few issues while dealing with the “Karnataka-Andhra relations”. Many other have treated the subject matter as a whole under “South India”, but, D. C. Ganguly¹⁰ has dealt with “*northern India during eleventh and twelfth centuries*”. Interestingly, during the 10th-11th centuries, there had been more movement of the poets, religious teachers and kings from South to North, whereas, the Arabs / Turks / Mohammedans invading from the north-west and the Buddhist Tibetans / Mongols / Chinese / Kambujas intruding from the north and north-east. Therefore, the socio-religious factors that are related to the topic are considered.

Kamban (c.10th-11th or 11th-12th centuries), the connecting factor: Andhra, the Trilingadesa and the land of Siva had links not only through Saiva faith, but also through Vaishnavite devotion. Kambar or Kambanadar¹¹, the famous Tamil poet and composer of *Valmiki Ramayana* in Tamil and belonged to a non-brahmin priest caste that devoted to Kali and other similar goddesses. This is mentioned because, the tantric practices dominated among the sections of people, particularly patronized by the Cholas, Gahadavalas, Palas and others competing and collaborating with the Jains and Buddhists. He had some irreconcilable differences, with the Cholas, turning into bitter hatred that made him to leave the Chola Country and reach Andhradesa. He composed a poem in praise of Prataparudra – I (1162-1197) and it goes like this¹²:

Oh Vurithira, the King of Oranga nadu¹³!

⁷ M. Raghava Iyengar, *The Tamils and the Andhras*, March 1923. Translated by R. S. Seshadri Iyengar. Also Triveni Journal, March 1927. It was also published as a booklet, “Tamizharum, Andhirarum,” by the Senthamizh Prasuram in 1924. See p.5, 11-12, 14, etc.

⁸ M. Raghava Iyengar, *Tamizharum, Andhirarum*, in “Senthamizhi”, Vol.23, p.265;

M. Raghava Iyengar, *Tamizharum, Andhirarum (The Tamils and the Andhras)*, in “Araychit Thoguthi (Research Compilation)”, Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1984, pp.311-338 (Reprint of 1938 edition);

⁹ M. Rama Rao, *Karnataka-Andhra relations (220 A.D – 1323 A.D)*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1974.

¹⁰ D. C. Ganguly, *Northern India during eleventh and twelfth centuries*, in The Struggle for Eموire, Vol.V, of The History and Culture of Indian People, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1989, see.Chap.II.

¹¹ Kambar belonged to Uvaccar caste, priests in the temples of Kali and similar deities and stray verses attributed to him seek to bring him into some relation with all the great monarchs of South India including Pandyas and Kakatiyas. The date of Public presentation of his work Kamba Ramayanam is fixed at 807 Saka or 885 CE based on one Tamil poem. Thus, he could have lived during c.840-920 CE. According to other synchronisms [Kulotunga (1132-1162 CE) and Prataparudra (1162-1197 CE)] and internal evidences, he is placed in the 12th century also.

K. A. Nilakanta sastri, *A History of South India from Prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1966, p.378.

¹² This poem is included in “*Tamizh Navalar sarithai*” (The History of Tamil Poets).

¹³ The poem is known as “Venba”, a quatrain verse in Tamil addressed to the King specifically. Here, *Oranga nadu* refers to Warangal and the *Vruthira*, Prataparudra – I (1162-1197)

***As all people come to you to satiate hungry, as you go around the country
On an elephant like Indra on Iravatham, the youthful ladies gaze at you but
slept on the floor to quench their coldest lust, thereby
the heat produced affecting the banana trees grown without bananas!***

“அவனிமுழு துண்டு மயிரா வதத்துன்
பவனி தொழுவார் படுத்தும்—புவனி
உருத்திரா சின்னுடைய ஓரங்க னுட்டிற்
குருத்திரா வரழைக் குழாம்”

Here, ***Oranga nadu*** refers to Warangal (Orukal) and the ***Vruthira***, Prataparudra – I (1162-1197 CE) of Kakatiya dynasty, thus, showing the connection of the poet with Andhra. This infuriated the Chola king and he even plotted to assassinate the poet through a dirty trick, when he returned to Tamizhagam. He arranged a tiger hidden in a cage to be set on to kill the poet and he would appear there with bow and arrow, as if he would rescue, but in fact, he allowed the arrow to strike the poet fatally. Thus, when he fell down, he cursed him through a poem while dying. The entire episode is described by the poet himself as follows:

***The arrow comes out of bow may be more cruel
than the striking-word coming from mouth
but, the striking-word excels the arrow;
thus the arrow hitting (and killing) me
would turn into a fiery one and
destroy your dynasty, oh King, mind it!***

“வில்லம்பு சொல்லம்பு மேதகவே யானாலும்
வில்லம்பிற் சொல்லம்பு வீறுடைத்து—வில்லம்பு
பட்டுருவிற் தென்னையென் பாட்டம்பு நின்குலத்தைச்
சுட்டெரிக்கு மென்றே துணி”

Raghava Iyengar interpreted that the cursed were the Chola king Kulottunga – III (1070-1120 CE) and his son Vikramachola (1118-1136), as after Rajendra – III (1216-1256), the Chola dynasty dwindled down and disappeared. Ironically, the same Kulottunga – III was earlier praised by Kamban in his Ramayana as “***viran*** = A Warrior”, “***thiyaga vinothan*** = strange-martyr” and so on¹⁴. In any case, the rule of Chalukya-Cholas started during the period in Andhra. To stress that Kamban used Telugu words in his Ramayana, as he was acquainted with the Telugus during his stay

¹⁴ Sasana Tamilk Kavi Saritham (The History of Tamil Poets based on Inscriptions), pp.83-84.

with the Kakatiya King, M. Raghava Iyengar gives several words¹⁵ found in Kamba Ramayanam – **thammi** = thamarai = lotus; **akkada** = ange = there (elegy type satire); **masa** = mayai (maya = illusion), poy = untruth, thus, **masaratham** = illusory vehicle; **kichu** = fire.

These details are culled from the Vaishnavite hagiographical texts like **Divya suri sariththiram**, **Yathiraja vaibhavam**, **Ramanujacharya Divya saritham** and according to Sadasiva Pandaratar¹⁶, Kambar lived during the reign of Utthama Chola (970-985 CE). He also pointed out that the accusations made against Adhirajendrachola (1067-1070), who reportedly threw away the idol of Tirumal / Vishnu / Govindaraja in the ocean and persecuted the Vaishnavas and thus Ramanuja had to migrate to Mysore¹⁷ in 1098. As the King died within few months of his coronation and the actual lineage of the Cholas ended with him, such stories were floated and thus, Pandarattar and Sastri cautioned that the researchers had to be careful in interpreting such details available from religious literature. Both also added inscriptional details to prove that the Chola incorporated several Vishnu Sannidhis in the Saiva temples at Tiruvakkarai, (South Arcot). Thus, Pandarattar concluded that the Chola who threw Vishnu idol was Kulottunga – II son of Vikramachola¹⁸. Nilakanta Sastri¹⁹ too was of the same opinion pointing out that “.....Govindaraja was pulled out of his place by Kulottunga – II (1133-1150) and thrown into sea; the image was restored to its place in the reign of Acyuta Raya in the Vijayanagara period.....”.

The Chola was also named as “Kirumi kanda cholan” i.e, the Chola king who was contaminated with virus and thus killed through some infected disease. There is a Bhavanarayayana Temple located in Bapatla, which was reportedly constructed by Krimikanda Cholan and has been dated to 1465, which is incorrect. In any case, such myth was prevalent in Andhra also during the medieval period. Thus, the Ramanuja factor comes into play. Here, though the Saivite-Vaishnavite polemics was exploited through the hagiographical literature, the teachers of both faiths were encountering, debating and defeating the Jains and Buddhists wherever they went.

The Ramanujacharya (1037-1107 CE) factor: When most of the areas of Karnataka, Andhra and Tamizhagam were dominated by the Jaina faith, Ramanuja, the exponent of Visishtadvaita, had been active during the period of 11th - 12th centuries sojourning to different parts of Bharat, particularly South India in the context.

¹⁵ M. Raghava Iyengar, **Tamizharum, Andhirarum (The Tamils and the Andhras)**, in “Araychit Thoguthi (Research Compilation)”, Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1984, p.325.

¹⁶ T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, **Pirkala Cholars Sariththiram (History of the Later Cholas)**, Annamalai University, Chidambaram, 1957, Vol.II, pp.101-102.

¹⁷ T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, **Pirkala Cholars Sariththiram (History of the Later Cholas)**, Annamalai University, Chidambaram, 1957, Vol.I, pp.257-258.

¹⁸ K. A. Nilakanta sastri, **A History of South India from Prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar**, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1966, p.430.

¹⁹ K. A. Nilakanta sastri, **Development of Religion in South India**, Orient Longmans, Madras, 1963 p.124.

Ironically, he had to migrate to Mysore²⁰ during the reign of Chola King Kulottunga – I (1070-1120 CE)²¹ or II as pointed out above and been then instrumental in spreading Sri Vaishnava faith in Orissa, Bengal, Assam and as well as in U.P and Gujarat. He visited Kalinga between 1037 and 1137 during the reign of Chodaganga²² on his way to Kasi from Melukote, converted him²³ and thus, the latter built the Lakshmi Temple within the precincts of Jagannatha Temple under the influence of Ramanuja²⁴. Earlier, he was also credited with converting Hoysala King Bittideva (1111-1141) known later as Vishnuvardhana from Jainism and establishing the mutt at Melokote²⁵. It is said that such change was effected when Ramanuja reportedly freed his son from possession by an evil spirit²⁶ in 1099. His contemporary, Nimbarka (c.1090-1165), a scholarly Bhagavata was a Telugu Brahmin hailing from Nimbapura in Bellary district. Interestingly, both were found encountering, debating and defeating Jaina ascetics and heretics not only in Karanataka and Andhra, but also in Bengal, Mathura and Gujarat. The hagiographical references about spirit possession and release point to the fact that the Jains and Buddhists were involved in such tantric activities. While supernatural powers were playing wonders, the natural calamities were also affecting the people of the areas.

The Tsunami and drought occurred during 12th century CE: As the Cholas dominated the eastern coastal region, it was known as “Coromandel coast” (Cholamandalam). Therefore, any disturbances at coastal areas would have had great impact on the Cholas, who were operating mostly in the coastal areas with their fleet. The oversea expedition of Rajendra Chola had been too well known to be repeated here. Moreover, whenever there were heavy rains, the river Kaveri with swelling and surging waters breaching and submerging the banks. The river itself had changed routes during the thousand years. Almost the Cholas had been engaged in controlling the waters of Kaveri by constructing embankments and dams, as is evident from the inscriptions and Meikirtis/ *Prasastis* . Interestingly, the inscriptions of the Chola period also have

²⁰ Nilakanta Sastri, though did not accept the persecution, but noted that Ramanuja had to withdraw into Mysore about 1098 and could return to Srirangam after 1122 i.e, for 24 years, he was not in Tamizhagam but in Karnataka, Andhra, Kalinga and other places including the period spent in his all India pilgrimage. Here, he did not mention the name of the Chola King.

K. A. Nilakanta sastri, ***The Colas***, University of Madras, 1984, pp.295-296 and 300 (fn.43).

....., ***A History of South India***, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1966, p.430.

²¹ K. A. Nilakanta sastri, ***Development of Religion in South India***, Orient Longmans, Madras, 1963 p.90. Here, he mentions Kulottunga – I (1070-1120 A.D) specifically.

²² Ganeswar Nayak and Shiba Prasad Nayak, ***Ramanujacharya and Bhakti movement in Orissa***, The Orissa historical Research Journal, Vol. XLII, Nos.1-4, p.54

²³ P. Mukherjee, ***History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa***, 1940, p.27.

S. N. Rajaguru, ***Inscriptions of Orissa***, Vol. III, Part – II, p.111.

²⁴ N. N. Pradhan, ***Bhakti movement in Jagannatha cult***, in ***The Cult and culture of Lord Jagannatha***, D. Panda and S. C. Panigrahi (Eds.), Cuttak, 1984, p.230.

²⁵ K. A. Nilakanta sastri, ***A History of South India***, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1966, p.430.

²⁶ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *History of Srivaisnavas*, p.38. Quoting this V. Varadachari cautioned that the dates of Ramanuja’s persecution and his flight to Karnataka require verification.

V. Varadhachari, ***Agamas and South Indian Vaisnavism***, Prof M. Rangacharya Memorial Trust, Madras, 1982, p. 477.

specific references about the cyclones, heavy rains, floods and other connected incidences occurred during their reign. Some examples are given below:

- During the reign of Vikramachola (1118-1136), there was a terrible cyclone (Tsunami-type) occurred resulting in the loss of property and damage of crops leading to severe drought duly recorded in the Temple inscriptions. Tiruvottur (North Arcot Jilla) inscription²⁷ recorded that, “.... during the reign of the sixth year (1124), the towns in the eastern side were inundated with floods leading to the destruction of the town and the paddy fields.....the lands were sold, as there was no means for livelihood”.
- Another inscription²⁸ of Tiruvathikai (South Arcot) recorded, “Mahasabha convened a meeting at the premises of Vinnagarazhvar Temple but only few people could assemble and it was decided to sell off some lands so that the debts incurred due to the floods could be cleared”.
- Again another inscription²⁹ at Koviladi (Thanjavur Jilla) recorded, “.....during the reign of the eleventh year (1129), ...In the temple Mantap of Mahadeva at Vadapidagai, a meeting was convened to decide.....only few people assembled....as the time was bad that the towns were destroyed completely with people.....”.
- Similarly during the reign of Kulottunga – III (1178-1218), there were heavy rains and floods for four times³⁰ in 1188, 1189, 1200 and 1201 respectively.
- Nilakanta Sastri³¹ noted that some of the salt pans at Bapatla were lost in 1112 owing to encroachment by the sea.

The expressions used - “the towns in the eastern side were inundated with floods”, “only few people assembled....as the time was bad that the towns were destroyed completely with people.....”, “some of the salt pans at Bapatla were lost in 1112 owing to encroachment by the sea”, clearly point to severe natural calamities resulting in the loss of life and property in the coastal regions. The effects of cyclones, storms, tempests from Kanyakumari to Bengal during the material period occurring every season would have been common factor like other religious and political causes³². Moreover, the ruling dynasties of the eastern / Coromandel coast engaged in maritime activities with

²⁷ South Indian Inscription, Vol.VII, No. 96.

²⁸ South Indian Inscription, Vol.VII, No. 303.

²⁹ South Indian Inscription, Vol.VII, No. 496.

³⁰ South Indian Inscription, Vol.VII, No. 393 and 151.

³¹ K. A. Nilakanta sastri, ***A History of South India***, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1966, p.593.

³² C. P. Rajendra et al have pointed out that during the Chola period, there was a Tsunami affecting eastern coasts submerging some areas. They concentrated at Kaveripattinam in between Daddalore and Nagapattinam – all prone to cyclones every year and if such studies are conducted at other places up to Bengal, similar effects could be studied.

C. P. Rajendran, Kusala Rajendran, S. Srinivasalu, Vanessa Andrade, P.Aravazhi and Jaishri Sanwal, ***Geoarchaeological Evidence of a Chola-Period Tsunami from an Ancient Port at Kaveripattinam on the Southeastern Coast of India***, Geoarchaeology: An International Journal, Published online in Wiley Online Library (wileyonlinelibrary.com). DOI:10.1002/gea.20376.

the South East Asian Countries depending upon the seasonal / trade winds. They in turn had social and economic consequences affecting the ruling dynasties.

The campaign of Rajendra against Kalinga: According to the Mahendragiri inscriptions – one in Sanskrit and another Rajendrachola Pallavarayan in Tamil, Rajendra defeated a Kuludhara King named Vimaladithya and erected a victory stone on the top of Mahendra mountain. Though no date has been mentioned in the inscriptions, it must have happened during the reign of Rajaraja Chola (985-1014 CE). Then come the first and second battles of Kalinga in 1096 and 1112 CE respectively. The Cholas were known as “Chodas” in Andhra and Kalingadesas and the rulers had the “Choda” label either before or after their names. The Choda Ganga dynasty³³ was dominant from Kalinga, “from the mouth of Ganges to the mouth of Godavari” formed by a king Ananta Varaman Choda Ganga³⁴. Anandavarma Choda Ganga was coronated as prince in 1074 and ruled Kalinga³⁵ for 74 years i.e, up to 1148! The reign is given as 1077-1147 also by historians³⁶. Some scholars opined³⁷ that he was the son of Rajasundari, who was nothing but daughter of Kulotunga - I! Thus, it is impudent that Kulotunga – I must have fought with and defeated his grandson. In any case, Rajendrachola or his commander must have crossed through Andhra to reach Kalinga and then Bengal earlier registering the Cholas power. Later, *Kalingattup Parani* gives details of the Battle of Kalinga waged by Kulottunga. As the Ganga chodas were ruling Andhra and Orissa areas touching the borders of Vanga, the Cholas must have passed through the coastal areas of Andhra and Orissa to reach Bengal. Incidentally S. K. Aiyangar held that the expedition against Kadaram started from the coast of Kalingam, but this was refuted by K. A. N. Nilakanda Sastri³⁸. Incidentally, the ships were sailing from all the ports from the eastern coast of India from Bengal to Tamizhagam to SEA Kingdoms carrying people and goods.

Mahipala of Pala dynasty (c.978/998–1030/1038)³⁹: He was the ruler of Bengal, who came to the throne around 988, he is credited with reviving the fortunes of the Kingdom establishing authority over eastern Bengal, recovering northern Bihar and exercising power over parts of Assam⁴⁰. His inscriptions show that he repaired many Buddhist sacred places at Sarnath and Nalanda in 1028 proving his Buddhist affiliation. He had contacts with the Tibetan Buddhism, which was closely connected with Tantric

³³ Originally Jains, but later adopting Saiva faith thus bull replacing elephant in their royal insignia. Based on B. Lewis Rice, S. N. Rajaguru pointed out.

S. N. Rajaguru, *History of the Gangas*, State Museum, Bhubaneswar, 1968, Part –I, p.189.

³⁴ R. C. Majumdar and others, *An Advanced History of India*, Macmillan, p.377. 1999.

³⁵ P. V. Sadasiva Pandarattar, *History of Later Cholas*, Part – II, Annamalai University, 1957, p.30, fn.1.

³⁶ S. N. Rajaguru, *History of the Gangas*, State Museum, Bhubaneswar, 1968, Part –I, p.195.

³⁷ Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1935-36, pp.63-64.

³⁸ KAN Sastri, *The Colas*, University of Madras, 1984, p.231-233.

³⁹ Sastri has discussed about the campaign of Rajendra with reference to Ganges and Mahipala in detail discussing the views of S. K. Iyengar and R. D. Bannerjee.

R. D. Bannerjee, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research*, 1928, Vol.xiv, pp.512-520.

K.i A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, University of Madras, 1984, see Note A “On Mahipala”, pp229-234.

⁴⁰ K. A. Nilakanta sastri, *History of India*, S. Viswanathan, Madras, 1953, Vol.I, p.190.

practices. In the west, his kingdom extended up to Benaras. Rajendra Chola invaded Bengal during his reign and conquered him around 1023. R. D. Bannerji noted that *the invasion seemed to have left some permanent marks in the Bengal..... some obscure karnata chief seemed to have followed him and settled in western Bengal.....From him was descended Samantasena, who was generally taken to the founder of the Sena dynasty*⁴¹.

The karnata of Mithila probably had a similar origin. A commentary of uncertain date, to the *Siddhantasara* of Trilocana Sivacharya mentioned the fact that Rajendra imported Saivas from the banks of the Ganges into his own kingdom and established them in Kanchipura and in the Cola country⁴². The Sivacharya might have implied the migration of Saivites to South escaping from the persecution, due to the “inconvenient condition” in the north or the changed state or the Cholas tried to resort to “tantric practices”. The records of Tiruvalangadu Copper plates and Prasasti describe his northern conquests and as well as that of the SEA countries. A much diminished Pala Chieftainship continued to survive even after the rise of the Senas around 1095, but was ended after Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar’s invasion in 1204. Here, the alliance of the Pala kings with the Tibetan forces is intriguing.

Gahadavala inscription on the walls of the Gangaikonda Cholaapuram

Temple: An inscription of Kannauj / Kanoj is found at Gangaikonda cholapuram inscribed in Sanskrit dated 1111 CE, the 41st regnal year of Kulotunga - I, in the temple gives the prasasti of a Gahadavala king of Kanauj. As it is fragmentary, in the sense incomplete the purpose of the inscribing is not known.

[a]kuṇṭhotkaṇṭha-vai[k]uṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-l[uṭha]t-karaḥ |
saṁrambhas=surat-ārambhe sa śriyaḥ [śreyase=stu vaḥ] ||
[āśīd=aśītadyuti-vaṁśa-jāta-kṣmāpā]la-mālāsu divaṁ gatāsu |
sākṣād vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā **Yaśovigraha** ity=udāraḥ ||
[tat-s]uto=bhūn=**Mahīcandraś**=candra-dhāma-n[i]bhan=nijam |
yen=āpā[ram=akūpāra-pāre]-vyāpār[i]taṁ yaśaḥ ||
tasyā=bhūt=tanayo nayaika-rasika[h] k[r]ānta-dviṣan-maṇḍalo |
vidh[va]stoddhata-dhīra-yodha-timira[h] [śri]-**Candradevo** nṛpa[h] ||

⁴¹ Rakla Das Banarjee, *The Palas of Bengal*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1915, p.73, 99. Also from the *Memories of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. L.V, No. 3, pp. 43-113.

⁴² Anantasambu’s gloss (verse.no.111) provides these details. Rajendra took bath in the Ganges. Krishna Sastri gave the date of Siddhantasara to his period, but K. A. Nilakanta Sastri refutes this. See fn.no.81of KAN, *The Colas*, University of Madras, 1984, p.242.

Kanoj is known variously as Kanauj, Kanyagupja and so on situated NW of Kasi / Varanasi⁴³. Madanapal Deva and his son Govindachandra were ruling Kanauj. One of them might have visited the temple to offer donation to the deity. Interestingly, the slokas, which are found on the copper plates issued by Govindachandra Deva, are found inscribed on the walls of the temple of Gangaikonda cholapuram⁴⁴. Therefore, it is evident that the incomplete inscription must be that of Govindachandra Deva, though the inscription does not give the name of the ruler or the nature of gift, as it is left unfinished. K. A. N. Sastri has suggested that it should be assigned to either Madanapala or his son, Govindachandra of Kanauj as it points to some dynastic connection between the Gahadavalas and the imperial Cholas. The Kalingattuparani a contemporary poem on Kulottunga refers to Gangaikonda cholapuram as Gangapuri. Gangaikonda cholapuram continued to be the capital of the successors of Kulottunga. Thus Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga II, Rajaraja II, Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III retained it as their capital. There are a few fragmentary records of Kulottunga III in the temple⁴⁵.

The Buddhist / Chinese intrusion through North-east and west: Mahipala was having good relations with the Tibetan Buddhists conserving Buddhist monuments at Saranath. Though, Nepal was under the suzerainty of Tibet, Devapala (810-850) conquered it⁴⁶. Lama Taranatha⁴⁷ gives interesting details in the context – A Turkish king name “Chandra” became the ruler of Doab between Ganga and the Yamna and he sent Buddhist monks as his emissaries to the small rulers of Bhangala (Vangala) and other lands for contracting alliances with them and destroyed the Magdha country. Thus, the Odantapuri and Vikramasila monasteries were destroyed and the Buddhist faith was uprooted and a Muslim fortress started to flourish on the ruins of the Odatapuri monastery. Here, if “Chandra” was a Turkish and Buddhist King, then he would not have destroyed the Buddhist Universities, that too, sending the Buddhist emissaries! Therefore, definitely, the Turkish Mohammedans with the connivance of the Buddhist Tibetans / Chinese would have plotted to penetrate India under the guise of Buddhists or both groups might have had an alliance to do so. D. C. Sircar⁴⁸ adds more information –

“Another significant fact is the occupation of the western part of Bengal, from the Dinapur District in the north to bay of Bengal in the south, by a people known as Kamoja, shortly after the end of Mahendrapala’s reign. We have a pillar inscription⁴⁹ of a ‘lord of Gauda’ belonging to the Kamoja race from

⁴³ Alexander Cunningham, **Ancient Geography of India**, pp.430-437.

⁴⁴ MES for 1908, Part – II, p.65.

⁴⁵ R. Nagaswamy, **Gangaikondacholapuram**, Tamil Academy, Can be accessed from - <http://tamilartsacademy.com/books/gcpuram/chapter03.html>

⁴⁶ D. C. Sircar, **The Kanyakubja-Gauda Struggle – from the Sixth to the twelfth century A. D.**, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1985, pp.56-57.

⁴⁷ Taranatha, **History of Buddhism in India**, p.60.

⁴⁸ D. C. Sircar, **The Kanyakubja-Gauda Struggle – from the Sixth to the twelfth century A. D.**, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1985, pp.56-57

⁴⁹ Bhandarkar, List of Inscriptions, No. 1619.

*dinapur while Irda⁵⁰ and Kalanda⁵¹ plates (dated to second half of 10th cent.) discovered in the Balasore District of Orissa, speak of three Kamboja kings whose capital was at Priyangu probably in the south-western border of Bengal. Linguisticians regard **the name Kamboja to be the same as Koc or Komc, the name of a Tibeto-Mongoloid people** of North Bengal and its neighborhood⁵². It has been suggested by some historians that Kambojas, who established a kingdom in Bengal in the tenth century A. D., came to this country in the train of the Tibetan invaders and represented the ancestors of **Koc, Mec and Paliya** (also called rajavamsii or Suryavamsi) peoples of North Bengal⁵³. According to Pala records, king Devapala had to fight with the Kambojas while Lucknow Museum plate of Surpala I, referred to above, says that Devapala had some success against the king of Nepala, country that acknowledged the suzerainty of Tibet at that time” (emphasis added).*

An unknown Kamboja king is mentioned in a stone inscription from Dinapur assigned to early 11th cent.CE. Therefore, the Kambojas were ruling when the Palas were powerless or on decline in Bihar and Bengal⁵⁴. However, the Kamboja kings were friendly with the Cholas. Interestingly, here, the scholars have confused about the Kambojas coming from the Central Asia, South-west Asia etc., while their established Kingdom was in the South East Asia.

The Cholas-Khmer alliance: Chidambaram Inscription refers to one Kamboja (*Kambosha-raja*) ruler who made a beautiful stone gift as a curio (*katchi*) to (*Kulotunga*) **Rajendrasoladevar** (i.e. *Rajendra Chola*) which with latter’s permission, was embedded in front row of the Citrambalam of the Nataraja temple⁵⁵:

Rajendra sola devarku Kambosha-rajan katchiyaaga kattina kallu, idu udaiyar rajendra sola devar tiruvaai molindaruli udaiyar tiruchrirramblam udaiyar koyilil mun vaittadu indakkallu tiruvedir ambalattu tiru kkai sarattil tiru mum pattikku melai ppattiyille vaittadu'

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri⁵⁶ noted that, “(according to the inscription from Cidambaram dated dated 13 March 1114 CE).....*Rajendra received a peculiar stone as a present from*

⁵⁰ Epigraphica Indica, Vol.XXII, pp.150ff. This grant was issued by Nayapala, who was the son of Rajyapala and the younger brother of Narayanapala, in the thirteenth regnal year.

⁵¹ Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol.XVI (4) and XXII, pp.111ff. The grant was issued in the king’s fourteenth regnal year.

⁵² S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pp.329-330.

⁵³ R. P. Chanda, *Gaudarajamala*, p.37.

⁵⁴ S. Tripathy, *Epigraphical and Numismatic Treasures from Balasore District (300 A.D – 1000 A.D)*, in Subash Pani (Ed.), *Glimpses of History and Culture of Balasore*, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, 1988, pp.150-151.

⁵⁵ Epigraphia Indica, Vol V, pp 105-106, (Editor) E. Hultsch; *A Comprehensive History of India*, 1957, p 39, Kallidaikurichi Aiyah Nilakanta Sastri, Indian History Congress; History of Tamilnad, 1978, p 222, N. Subrahmanian - Tamil Nadu (India); Ancient Kamboja, People & the Country, p 333-335, Dr J. L. Kamboj; Kamboja Through the Ages, 2005, p 13, Kirpal Singh

⁵⁶ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, University of Madras, Madras, 1984, p.325.

the king of Kamboja, and that he caused this stone inserted in to the wall of in front of the shrine of Cidambaram” and wondered as to whether “...it is a relic of the friendly connections maintained by Kulottunga with the powerful Khmer empire across the seas, on the sea-route to China”. Rajendra Chola I issued copper plate inscriptions in the 8th year of his reign (1012-1044 CE), known as the Karanthai copper-plate charter contains a significant verse pointing out the Chola-Kamboja fiendship. The Sanskrit verse reads as follows:

***Kamboja-rajo ripu-raja-send
jaitrena yen a ajayad ahaveshu
tam prahinot prarthita-mitra-
bhavo yasinai
ratham rakshitum - atma-
lakshmih.***

It says that in order to seek the Chola's friendship and also in order to protect his own kingdom (Lakshmi), the king of Kamboja presented to Rajendra Chola a chariot with which he had vanquished his enemies in many battles.

As Suryavarman I (1002-1050), the Kamboja King faced threat, he sought Rajendra Chola's friendship, though it is not mentioned in this inscription. Coedès suggested that the gift of the “King of Kamboja” in the ‘Karanthai Copper Plates’ corresponded in time to a Khmer military campaign into the *Chao Phraya* river valley and was Suryavarman's request for Chola help against his rival Jayaviravarman and Tambralinga, and Tambralinga turned towards Srivijaya⁵⁷. Kulottunga I (1070-1126) might have gone to Kadaram in 1068, when the King of Kadaram sought help from Vira Rajendra (1063-1070). His inscription dated to seventh year of reign⁵⁸ dated to 1068 states that he sent a fleet to Kadaram, as its king requested help fervently. Here, it has to be mentioned that the Sailendra Emperors had intimate relation with the Pala Emperors of Bengal and the Cholas, but later they had to confront with the Cholas⁵⁹. Incidentally, the Sailendras were staunch followers of Mahayana Buddhism and they constructed a Buddhist Vihara at Negapattinam in 1006. Therefore, the above historical facts prove a situation where the Cholas alliance – comprising the Palas, Gahadavalas and Kambojas faced an alliance of Tibetan-Buddhist, Arab-Buddhist, Chinese and Mohammedan groups during the period. This is similar to the Confederacy formed by the north-Indian kings in 1043 to contain the Muslims⁶⁰. This political confrontation might have coupled with the Tsunami-type natural calamities leading to inflicting defeat to the Cholas alliance, thus paving way for the rise of Mohammedan power in North India.

⁵⁷ In Coedès' view, the result of this complicated diplomacy was the Chola raid, which, as expressed in the Tanjore inscription, was directed at Srivijaya and its ports - one of which was Tambralinga (Madamalingam). Completing his argument, Coedès stated that the Chola expedition led to the reintroduction of Khmer influence in the Thai-Malay peninsula during the second quarter of the 12th Century CE.

⁵⁸ South Indian Inscriptions, Vol.V, No.468; Epigraphia Indica, Vol.XXV, p.263.

⁵⁹ R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1973, p.33, 37,

⁶⁰ D. C. Ganguly, *Northern India during eleventh and twelfth centuries*, in The Struggle for Empire, Vol.V, of The History and Culture of Indian People, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1989, p.94.

D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p.101.

The intra and inter-religious relations and encounters: The relations and encounters among the different faiths of Indians had been philosophical, till they met with the invading Mohammedan forces. The Gazni-Ghori-Khilji raids, incursions, and invasions resulted in different encounters. The main sufferers had been the Buddhists and Saivites, as their places of worship, monasteries and institutions were targeted, attacked and vandalized sending signals to other parts of Bharat. Therefore, the Saivites revived their religion in the South resulting in the decline of residual Buddhism and dominant Jainism obviously with the patronage of the rulers. It is significant to note that both Vaishnavite Acharyas Ramanuja (1037-1107 CE) and Madhva (1199-1278 CE) travelled extensively up to north to revive Vaishnavite faith through their philosophical system of Visishtadvaita and Dvaita influencing the Kings and common people. At the same time Basaveswara (1134-1196) also appeared to introduce Kashmira Virasaiva in Karnataka in the form of Lingayatism as an antidote to the dominant Jainism.

Dominant Jaina dynasties ruling Dekkan: During the period, most of the South Indian dynasties - Gangas, Kalabhras, Chalukyas, Rashtrakuts, Kadambs, Kalchuries, Hoysalas, Shilahars – were Jains and patrons of Jainism⁶¹. M. S. Ramaswamy Iyengar⁶² listed the Jaina dynasties as follows:

1. The Gangas exercised their sway over the greater part of Mysore from 2nd-11th cent., when they were overthrown by the Cholas. The Cholas did not stay in the country for a longtime as they were soon expelled by the Hoysalas who established a separate dynasty which continued to exist for three centuries (from 11th-14th cent).
2. The early Chalukyas established their sway about the sixth century and after a vigorous rule divided themselves into several branches (about 615), the Eastern and the Western Chalukyas.
3. The Eastern Chalukyas ruled from 750 – 11th cent., when their dominions were annexed by the Cholas.
4. The Western Chalukyas succumbed to the Rashtrakuta power in about 750.
5. The Rashtrakutas who thus succeeded to the power of the Western Chalukyas maintained their independence down to 973, when they were defeated by the Western Chalukyas who once again established their rule, albeit for a short period (973-1156).
6. In 1156 A.D., the Western Chalukyas fell a prey to a new power, the Kalachuris, who ruled for 30 years (1156-1186).
7. The Hoysalas, as already mentioned, established their dynasty and their sway extended over the whole of Mysore, the modern districts of Salem, Coimbatore, Bellary and Dharwar.

The persecution of Buddhists by the Jains: Amoghvarsh, the great Digambara King of Rashtrakuts brought most of the western and southern India under his control defeating many kings. His inscriptions point put the power struggle existed between the

⁶¹ M. S. Ramaswamy Iyengar, Studies in South Indian Jainism, Hoe & C., Madras, 1922, See under Chapter.VII, The Jains in Dekkan, pp.

⁶² Ibid, pp.106-108.

Jains and Buddhists. Sravanabelagola inscription also records⁶³ the persecution of the Buddhists by the Jains. After the defeat of the Buddhists by Akalanka, they were treated like this, “*The upshot of the whole matter was that the king was disgusted at finding out the tricks the Buddhists relied on, and also witnessing how an elephant which got loose trampled on the Buddhist books but raised the Jain books with its trunk and placed them on its head, ordered all the Buddhists to be ground in the oil-mills. But at the intercession of Akalanka, instead of putting them to death, he consented to banish them to a distant country, and so they were all transported to Kandy in Ceylon*”. Interestingly, the entire process of persecution was carried out in front of the Goddess – Tara. During the reign of Rastrakutas (748-973), the Digambara Jainism was the dominating religion. The Chalukya kings had been Jains ruling Andhra from 4th to 11th centuries CE, till Kakatiyas came to power. The Chalukyas also wrested power from the Kalachuris in 1182 /1184. Though, the rulers irrespective of the fact that they belonged to different faith, had been tolerant enough to make grants to all faiths. That the Jains compromised and indulged in blood sacrifices is proved by some records, as explained below.

Jains resorting Himsa-practices: B. Seshagiri Rao has pointed out that the Jains, according to *Jammalamadugu Kaiphiyat*, sacrificed a goat for laying foundation of their settlement and named it Kurimari (goat sacrifice)⁶⁴. The place Kurimari also figures in another Kannada inscription dated to 1029 / 1089 CE, as the place of a Jain couple who sacrificed their lives in a battle occurred due to the border dispute between the villages Kurimari and Pasapula. These acts were definitely not of the ahimsa-method of the Jains. However, in practice it is evident that they followed such sacrifices of killing and sacrificing life for the cause. The Jains and Buddhists resorted to the worship of Goddesses to attract the rural people, where they had their dwellings and monasteries. However, the Goddesses they incorporated, adopted and appropriated were only Hindu Goddesses⁶⁵ and thus, the new converts could not find any difference. However, the sacrifice exposed their indulgences to the practice of Tantric methods⁶⁶.

The Tantric practices followed by the Jains and Buddhists: The Sakti and Tantric worship a common factor found among the Cholas, Chodas, Chodagangas⁶⁷, Palas, Gahadavalas and other dynasties. These Kings might have confederated to unite

⁶³ B. Lewis Rice, *Inscriptions at Sravana Belagola - A seat of the Jains*, Mysore Government Press, Bangalore, 1860, pp.45-46.

⁶⁴ B. Seshagiri Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, Part – II Andhra Karnataka Jainism, Sri Satguru Publications, New Delhi, 1988, pp.11-13

⁶⁵ Mohanlal Bhagawandas Jhavery, *Comparative and Critical Study of Mantrasastra (with special Treatment of Jain Mantravada) Being the introduction to Padmavati kalpa*, published by Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, Ahmedabad, 1944.

⁶⁶ K. V. Ramakrishna Rao, *A Study of Role of Women in Jain Mantra, Tantra and Yantra*, a paper presented at the UGC sponsored National Seminar on women and Jainism held at the Acharya Nagarjuna University on February 11th and 12th, 2012.

⁶⁷ Kailash Chandra Dash, *A Historical Study of the legends on the Ganga king Chodaganga*, The Orissa historical Research Journal, Vol. XXXIV, Nos.3-4, pp.1-30; Chodaganga had mastery over Tantric practices, p.4

themselves to act against Buddhist and Jains at one side, the invading Arabs / Mohammedans at the other side, besides the Chinese interference through the Buddhists in the North-east Indian and SEA regions. The interesting fact noted is that Mohammedans could penetrate and establish their rule, wherever the Buddhists or Buddhism was prevalent, but, they could not do so where Saiva faith was there⁶⁸. Incidentally, here, most of the dynasties were Jains or Buddhists or extending patronage to those religions initially, later changed to Saiva religion. Therefore, there is a reason to believe that the Jains and the Buddhists polluted and degraded the Tantric practices, later exploited by the Mohammedans in different way. However, because of the disunity among them, most of the dynasties collapsed during 12th – 13th centuries paving way for the Mohammedan / Mughal rule to get established. Thus the Indian Kings miserably lost a chance during the period of the collapse of the Delhi Sultanate.

Movement of people groups and dynasties: Availability of the coins of one dynasty in another country shows the trade and commercial connection than the political one. Kalachuri gold coins were found in Puri district and it does not mean Kalachuris ruled Kalinga⁶⁹. Kadamba coins were found in the east coast also, though they were engaged in the maritime activities in the western coast⁷⁰. In the same way, in Quanchou (Southern China), one Chola temple was there, though no Chola coins were found there. However, both Chinese records and Cholas inscriptions recorded about their emissaries sent, tributes paid etc. Similarly, all the coastal ruling dynasties of South India had contacts with the South East Asian kingdoms. It is interesting to note that the SEA dynasties always trace their origin to the Kaundinya gotra Brahmins coming from Karnataka and Andhra, whereas, the rulers were having names like “varman” typical to South Indian dynasties and “sena” to Bengal⁷¹. Moreover, the “ship-type” coins were issued by the Satavahanas and also by the Pallavas and that of the latter were found available from the coasts of Tamizhagam (Caddalore) and Andhra (Nellore)⁷². Thus the coinage continued in the region through the Telugu-Tamil dynasties also point to maritime trade, expedition and other connected activities. However, it is intriguing to note the absence of such coins issued by the Cholas and their counterparts of Andhra-Ganga and Kalinga-Vanga regions.

Contradicting interpretations – Cholas as persecutors and patrons of the Jains: Edward Rice has portrayed the Cholas as the persecutors of the Jains in

⁶⁸ Kailash Chandra Dash, *A Study of conquest of Utkal by the Ganga king Chodaganga*, The Orissa historical Research Journal, Vol. XXXI, Nos.2-4, pp.130-142.

⁶⁹ B. V. Nath, *Discovery of Kalachuri coins in Puri district*, The Orissa historical Research Journal, September, Vol.III, No.2, 1954, pp.114-117.

⁷⁰ Water Elliot, Madras Journal, his facsimile legends nos.82, 83, of plate.x, vol.iii, of the Journal clearly read in Devanagari “kadamba taka”

⁷¹ Kambuka = physalis flexusa (a plant), a conch, a shell, bracelet made of shell, ornament, mean person, thus thief; kambojaka = born in or coming from Kamboja – the Kamboja country; people of Kamboja, the degraded Kshatriyas; just like Pallavas, they are traced to a plant. However, the Kamboja inscriptions record that the Kings were descended from Nagi-soma and apsaras Mera or Kaundinya Soma and Kambu Mera, thus born of Sri Kambu (Kambuja = Kamboja).

⁷² Sir Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Prithvi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1970, p.35-36, 152, 152B.

Karnataka and Gujarat (covering present Maharashtra). His interpretation was that since the Pandyan kingdom and Gujarat were predominant with Jainism, the Hindu-Cholas were hostile to Jainism⁷³. For the waning of Jainism in south India around 1000 CE, he gave the following reasons⁷⁴:

1. The fall of Ganga kingdom of Talkad in 1004, wide conquests and temporary dominance of the Cholas.
2. Rajendra Chola is said to have ravaged the country as far as Puligere, destroying Jaina temples and monasteries.
3. Conversion of the Ballal raja to the Vaishnava faith around 1100.
4. Revival of Virasaivism under Basava of Kalyana, about 1160, together with the overthrow of the Kalachuris in 1190.

He repeats the above point in stating that⁷⁵, “*In the eleventh century there are not many names of Kanarese writers. This was, perhaps, owing to the disturbed condition of the country caused by the Chola invasions, in which the country was ravaged and many Jaina shrines were destroyed*”. On the other hand, R. Champakalakshmi⁷⁶ gives elaborate details culled from the inscriptions that the Chola Kings, their wives and feudatories generously granted lands, built Jinalayas and so on. She went to add about the patronage under the Pandyas and Vijayanagara rulers also. Therefore, the Cholas could not have been the persecutors of the Jains or the Jains been playing double game under different dynasties or regions with some hidden agenda in the power-struggle.

Violence and non-violence or Himsavada and Ahimsavada: If such antagonism was existing between the Jains and non-Jains, it is really intriguing, because, the Jains were supposedly followers of ahimsa and therefore, they could not be belligerent Kshatriyas fighting with and killing others in the battles. But, having established such power-politics, then, there is a reason to believe that they must have pursued the policy of debates at one side and battle at the other side adopting two-pronged strategy to spread their influence. The power struggle existed between the two ahimsa-advocating groups – Jains and Buddhists had been the striking evidence to prove that proclaimed ideologies⁷⁷ were veiled, when the power-dominance was sought by any means. Thus, in the case of Ramanuja, had he really gone to Delhi around 1100-1102 to bring the Golden idol of *Ramapriya* or *Sampathkumara*, definitely, at that time no Mohammedan ruler was there ruling, but only Anangapala, probably a Jain King of Tomara / Tunvara dynasty ruling. Thus, whether it was kingdom, land, or idol, when it was usurped by the dominant group from the “other”, when the “other” becomes dominant or intelligent enough to wake up from the slumber to understand such seizure, definitely, it would try

⁷³ Edward P. Rice, **A History of Kanarese Literature** (The Heritage of India series), Association Press, Calcutta, 1921, p.18.

⁷⁴ Edward P. Rice, **opt.cit**, p.24; he gives reasons upto Vijayanagara period, here only 11th-12th century factors are taken into consideration.

⁷⁵ Edward P. Rice, **opt.cit**, p.33, 55, etc;

⁷⁶ R. Champakalakshmi, **Jainism in Tondamandalam**, in Religion and Culture of the Jains, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1973, see “under the Cholas”, pp.63-65.

⁷⁷ As both had / have been atheistic religions they cannot be mentioned as “having with theology” and thus, “ideology” is mentioned. For anybody or group belief or disbelief itself becomes disbelief or belief in the contexts or according to their convenience to find fault with or criticize others.

to regain it in the same way or other. Thus, in such power-struggles, the Ahimsavadis themselves had indulged in Himsa-methods, the natural Ahimsavadis cannot be accused of becoming Himsavadis like themselves competing.

Stone and metallic technology: Another important feature found among the Cholas and the Andhra counterparts had been the production of marvelous sculptures and bronzes. The stone workers, sculptors and builders were engaged in the temple building consequent to the decline of Jaina and Buddhist religions. Thus, during 11th – 12th centuries, many temples, temple complexes with artistic sculptures, inventive structures made out of stones had come up. With the changed phase, the Jaina and Buddhist stone workers, sculptors and builders would have been engaged in such vigorous activities. The sculptures and structures of the Hoysalas, Chandelas, Cholas, Rastrakutas, Kakatiyas, Nolambas etc., have similar or same intricate features, implying either the same sculptors or the same technology knowing workers were employed to produce such master-pieces at Kajuraho, Halepedu, Warangal, Tiruvannamalai, and Madurai. Another characteristic feature had been excellent production of metallic icons with alloying techniques and moulding methods. The coins and medals issued by the respective dynasties also proves the intricate mould and die-making technology prevalent. Such technology was not only restricted to sacred domain alone, but also found in the domestic area also. Thus, In spite of the regional variance the utensils, vases, lamps, ornaments, jewelry etc., manufactured exhibited common features reflecting the qualities of people and the same technology adopted.

The Cholas, the Chola-dynasty and their influence: The Cholas were mentioned and recorded in different documents variously like this: Colas, cholas, chozhas, chodas, chulis, Chulias, cholian, chozhiyan, Chonan, Sonagan, Hoysala, Hoychola, Chalukya, Choulukya, Solanki, Choulanki and so on. Thus, the variation has been due to –

1. The pronunciation and usage of the letter “ழ” – “zha” / la / da / na and so on.
2. The Anglicization and modification of it in the respective languages.
3. Tamilisation from other languages.

The names of Chola Kings – Rajaraja, Rajendra, Gangaikonda Chola etc., were used by the Chola commanders and representatives (Mandalathipatis). Interestingly, these words and expressions are found the inscriptions found throughout the South and up to Ganges valley⁷⁸. The powerful Cholas could not have disappeared or got reduced to smaller area of the medieval Tamizhagam. Either, they must have lost their control over the conquered areas or the representatives appointed must have started ruling assuming themselves as rulers. It is clear that the predecessors of Rajendra Chola and Vijayendra Chola⁷⁹ had not been powerful, dominating and controlling and thus, they lost their supremacy. The moment the main ruler or the rule of the principal dynasty getting

⁷⁸ K. V. Ramakrishna Rao, *A Critical Study of the Shipbuilding Technology of the Cholas*, a paper presented during the Tetradic National Seminar on Bharatiya Scientific Heritage, Bharadwajiyam (Engineering Heritage) held at S. D. M. College, Ujjre-Dharmasthala, from May 13th to 16th, 2008 and to appear in the proceedings.

⁷⁹ O. K. Nambiar, *An Illustrated Maritime History of Indian ocean*, can be accessed from: <http://indianavy.nic.in/prf2006/MaritimeHistory3.htm>

reduced, the feudatories gain control and thus weakening or their influence gets reduced. The Kadambas suddenly reigning supreme in the west, Hoysalas in the south-west and Kalingas / Senas dominating in the east prove the fact. Of course, the Sri Vijaya in the SEA definitely proves the fact. Thus, though, the Cholas as such started disappearing or disappeared from the scene, the technology of ship-building and metal work continued.

The dynasties⁸⁰ - Western Chalukyas of Badami, Rastrakutas of Malkhhed, Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, Kalachuris of Kalyani, Hoysalas of Dorasamudras (Hoysala, Poysana, Hoysala, Hoysana), Yadavas of Devagiri, and the feudatories Silaharas of Southern Konkan, Northern Konkan and Karad, Rattas of Saundatti, Kadambas of Hangal and Goa, Sindas of Yelburga, Guttas of Guttal of the so-called Kanarese districts lived during 11th – 12th centuries had relationships and encounters with the Cholas, Chodas, Andhras, Kalingas and others. However, their whole culture, tradition, heritage and civilization had been overlapping with many common factors. J. F. Fleet's attempt of grouping dynasties points to the fact that he has grouped many dynasties into one and one to two or three, just to confuse Indian researchers. In fact, he has made many dynasties disappear, though they are prominently figuring in many inscriptions, Copper plates and coins. Moreover, he has totally ignored the Chola dynasty in his dealing with "the dynasties of Kanarese districts" as if they were outside the territories of the Cholas.

Same dynasties having different names and ruling many parts of India:

Rastrakutas are mentioned as Rattas, Rathores, Yadhavas⁸¹, Gahadavalas⁸², Solankis⁸³ and so on based on Copper plate, literary and inscriptional evidences.

- ☉ Hoernle considers the Gahadavala family to be a branch of the Pala dynasty. He is of opinion that the descendants of Nayapala, the eldest son of Mahipala, ruled over the province of Gauda (Bengal) and that Mahipala's younger son, Chandradeva, took the kingdom of Kanauj.
- ☉ Vincent Smith⁸⁴ considers the northern Rashtrakutas (Rathoras) to be the off-shoots of the Gahadvalas and the Rashtrakutas of Deccan to be the descendants of the "non-Aryans" bringing racial myth into his interpretation.
- ☉ Within 200 years, in the place of Chalukyas, Hoysalas appeared; Andhras – Kakatiya, Paramaras – Yadavas; Palas – Senas; Pratiharas / Gahadavalas;

⁸⁰ John Faithful Fleet, *The Dynasties of Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency from the Earliest times to the Musalman conquest of AD 1318*, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1896. AES reprint 1988.

⁸¹ A copper grant of Rashtrakuta Govindaraja III, dated Shaka S. 730 (V. S. 865- A. D. 808) found at Radhanpur.

⁸² Bisheswar Natha Reu, *History of the Rastrakutas (Rathodas) From the beginning to the migration of Rao Siha towards Marwar*, The Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, 1933.

⁸³ From the copper grant, dated Shaka S.972, of Solanki Trilochanapala, we learn that Chalukya, the prime ancestor of the Solankis, had married the daughter of the Rashtrakuta king of Kanauj. Similarly, from the 4 Rashtraclha Vamsha Mahakavya' it is evident that the Rashtrakutas ruled at Kanauj at an earlier period.

⁸⁴ Early History of India, (1924), pages 429-430.

Kalachuris- Chandelas and so on. Therefore, a doubt arises as to whether the dynasties are known or changed or created with the titles appearing in the inscriptions or based on certain hypotheses and theories.

- ◎ A.K.M. Yakub Ali⁸⁵ of Bangladesh pointed out that the name of Vanga as Vangala desam occurring in the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rajendra Cola dated 1025 A. D.
- ◎ R.C. Majumdar already pointed out that the Palas only named their Kingdom as “Vanga”. Thus, the Cholas using the expression “***the Ganga, Kalinga, Vanga, Magadha, Aratta, Odda, Saurashtra, Chalukya and other kings***” in their copper plates⁸⁶ / inscriptions has been literary and historical too.

Kings might issue Copperplates and inscriptions claiming that they won others: Indian Kings used follow the tradition of “Chakravati Khestra” concept and thus mention in their inscriptions that they were ruling the land surrounded by the Himalayas in the North, Kumari in the South, Eastern Ocean in the east and Western Ocean in the west! Thus, the South Indian Kings used to record in their inscriptions that they conquered all Kings, particularly the Cholas:

- Dantivarman after defeating Vallabha (Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman - II) he assumed the titles of Rajadhiraja and Parameshvara; and with a small cavalry defeated the great Karnatik army, which had won a victory over the kings of the Kanchi, Kerala, Chola and Pandya as well as over king Harsha of Kanauj and Vajrata⁸⁷.
- A copper grant dated Shaka S. 915 (V.S. 1050=A.D.993), of the ruler of the Shilahara dynasty of Thana, states that when king Krishnaraja III mobilized his armies, the kings of the Chola, Bengal, Kanauj, Andhra and Pandya countries used to quiver⁸⁸.
- In the copper grant of Shaka S. 793 (V.S. 928=A.D.871), found at Sanjan⁸⁹, it is stated that Amoghavarsha had made great efforts to overthrow the kingdom of the Dravidas; that the mobilisation of his armies struck terror in the hearts of the kings of Kerala, Pandya, Chola, Kalinga, Magadha, Gujrat and Pallava.

This has been similar to the Persians and the Greeks, who earlier used to mention in their writings that they conquered “India” or “India” was a satrapy or dominion of their kingdom. In the same way, during the medieval period, the invading Arab, Mongol,

⁸⁵ A.K.M. Yakub Ali, ***Vanga: From Janapada to Country***, Jurnal of the Varendra Research Museum, Vol.5, Rajshahi University, Bangladesh, 1979 and also can be accessed from <http://www.bmri.org.uk>; he mentions this based on B. C. Law, Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol.II, London, 1934, p.2.

⁸⁶ The Tiruvalangadu copper-plates of the sixth year of Rajendra-Chola I.

⁸⁷ Bisheswar Natha Reu, ***History of the Rastrakutas (Rathodas) From the beginning to the migration of Rao Siha towards Marwar***, The Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, 1933, p.54

⁸⁸ Bisheswar Natha Reu, ***opt.cit***, p.34.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.70.

Turk and other Mohammedans used to call themselves as “Sikander” imitating “Alexander”⁹⁰ as if the conquered the whole India!

South Indian people settling in the north, north-east India and SEA countries: The “Karnata” mentioned in the inscription of Mahipala is nothing but Karnataka, and they seem to be southerners who came with Rajendra Chola and settled there in Bengal. All Sena inscriptions agree in stating that the Sena kings descended from a family of Karnata Kshatriyas i.e, from the family which originally came from Kanarese speaking districts of Southern India⁹¹. The SEA dynasties were descendants of the South Indians, as has been recorded in their inscriptions. Like the Senas tracing their origins to “Karnata” region, the Kambuja / Cambodian kings too traced their origins to Kaunyna Brahmins coming from Karnataka. According to B. R. Chatterjee the the Kaundinya Brahmins might have migrated from Mysore to Indo-China⁹² based on the Mysore inscription, but to H. B. Sircar⁹³ from the Amaravati region to Funan based on the similarity between the sculptures of Dong Duog (in Funan) and Amaravati. Now Benudhar Patra⁹⁴ argues that they might be from Kalinga.

The Burmese “Mons” also known as “Talaings” were originated from Telingana, Telugu speaking coastal area of Andhra. According to the tradition prevalent among the people of Pegu, the delta of Irawathi and adjoining coastal areas were colonized by the people coming from the lower courses of the rivers Krishna and Godhvari⁹⁵. Thus, whatever may be the place located in the South India, the people of South India had the role in the culture, tradition and heritage of the SEA people exhibited in their material and non-material culture. The Pallavas are also considered as the origin of the SEA civilization⁹⁶

⁹⁰ In fact, earlier the Indian King Chandragupta Vikramaditya conquered north-west, Arabian peninsula and Central Asian regions and his name “Chandra” was so famous that it was mentioned as Xandrum, Xandramas and so on. The Arabs used it in their own fashion al-xandramus, al-xander and thus becoming Alexander.

Ap. Dascalakis, *The Hellenism of the Ancient Macedonians*, Institute for Balkan Studies, 1965, Greece, p.65, 66.

K. V. Ramakrishna Rao, *The Myth of Deification of Alexander and Its Alleged Influence on the Cult of Skanda / Muruga / Karttikeya*, Proceedings of the International Conference on Skanda-Muruga, 2000, Mauritius.

The Greek writers mention words *Alexandrum*, *Androcottus*, *Androcottos*, *Xandrames*, *Angrammes*, *Ganderatai* and so on similar to each other.

⁹¹ Rakla Das Banerjee, *The Palas of Bengal*, opt.cit, p.73, 91.

⁹² B. R. Chatterjee, *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1965, pp.261-262.

⁹³ H. B. Sircar, *The Homeland of Kaundinya of Funan and Tradition about his marriage*, Journal of Institute of Asian Studies, Madras, 1943, p.25.

....., *Trade and Commercial Activities of South India in the Malayo-Indonesian World*, Firma-KLM P.Ltd., Calcutta, 1986, pp.48-49.

⁹⁴ Benudhar Patra, *Kalinga and Funan: A Study in Ancient Relations*, Orissa Review, Bhubaneswar, November, 2011, pp.33-39.

⁹⁵ R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1973, p.14 and 223.

⁹⁶ G. Coedes, *The Indianized States of South East Asia*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1967, p.37.

and incidentally their inscriptions found there have been dated to pre-Pallava period⁹⁷. The Coastal Indians from Tamizhagam, Andhra, Kalinga and Vanga had gone to the SEA countries from the ports Kaveripumpattinam, Mamallapuram (Tamizhagam), Masulipatnam (Andhra), Gopalpur (Ganjam, Orissa), Tamralipti (Tamlik, Bengal). As per the literary and archaeological evidences, the Indian people went there to colonize both by sea and land routes. Therefore, The Cholas must have had co-operation from the Andhra-Kalinga-Vanga people during their Ganges campaign.

Conclusion: In view of the above discussion and the issues analyzed, the relations between the Cholas and Andhras had been marital, martial and maritime by the ruling dynasties, merchant guilds, philosophers-saints and common people and the following points are listed out as conclusion:

- The Telugu Chodas and Chalukya-Cholas had played a crucial role along with the Cholas in strengthening the Cholas campaign undertaken towards Ganges.
- The Cholas must have formed alliance with the Palas, Pratiharas, Kamojas and others to contain the Arabs / Turks, Chinese and other adversaries as explained above.
- Considering the different factors as above, it is imminent that no dynasty could be dealt with in isolation, as the connected dynasties ruled and the people ruled lived together with all affecting factors.
- Definitely, the Southern India had been formidable part of Bharat / India for the Arabs / Mohammedans to penetrate, in spite of many groups invading from the North-western sides during the 11th-12th centuries.
- The Cholas had been the dominating force encountering the threats of the Arabs and the Chinese from all sides.
- However, as the Indian and SEA partners misrepresented, deceived and tried to assert independent breaking alliance with the Cholas, the union, alliance and confederation was broken paving way for the downfall of the Indian Kings, thus the Mohammedan slowly replacing them.
- Of course, the Chinese were satisfied with their trade interests relieved from the Indian dominance and competition.

⁹⁷ B. Ch. Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture During Pallava Rule (as evidenced by inscriptions)*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1965.